2:Wolf E-5 (1958-1961) 1964 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Hsiachichou

CHAPTER 2

THE SETTING

101 The village of Hsiachichou is a small Hokkien community located
near the market town of Hsulin on the southwestern edge of the Taipei
101 basin. Seventy years ago when the Keelung and Tamsui Rivers were the
133 only convenient avenues of transportation within the basin, Hsiachichou
178 was commonly described as being situated on the west bank of the Tamsui
487 River two hours upstream from the city of Taipei. The village's loca-
tion on the river was then one of its most important characteristics,
a fact still reflected in the name Hsiachichou, "The Place Down on the
178 River." After 1923, however, the river began to lose its central place
487 in the life of the village, this being the year in which the Formosan
496 Development Company completed a rail line through the southern half
[829] of the Taipei basin. At first many of the villagers refused to make
use of the railroad, apparently afraid of becoming contaminated by coal
dug in inauspicious locations, but the advantages of convenient trans-
portation overcame their qualms. Where it had formerly taken hours of
hard poling to make a round trip to Taipei, the railroad made it possi-
ble to travel to the city and back in little more than an hour and in
relative comfort. The village of Hsiachichou is today thought of as
being "fifteen minutes from the Hsulin Station" or "three stops down
823 track from Taipei." So completely has the river lost its central place
975 in the life of the village that it is only in the seventh lunar month

178 In 1895 when the island was ceded to Japan the village of Hsiachichou
433 was almost exclusively an agricultural community. Of the thirty or
463 forty families living in the village at that time there were apparently only five who did not derive all of their income from agriculture, these being the village storekeeper, a highly successful shaman whose services were in demand for miles around, and three families who made their liv-
464 ings as boatmen on the Tamsui. If a villager of that day did not want
178 to work as a farmer, or if he did not inherit enough farm land to make his living this way, there was no choice for him but to leave the community to find a livelihood elsewhere. There was no industry in the area which could give him employment, and Taipei was too far away for a person to live in Hsiachichou and work in the city.

178 In the course of the next thirty to forty years changes took place
464 which drastically altered this situation, the precipitating factor
496 being the construction of the Taipei-Hsinchu railroad in 1923. The
433 railroad itself created a number of jobs for coolies and clerks in the Hsulin station, and made it possible for a few men to live in the village and work in Taipei. More important in terms of its eventual effect upon village life, the construction of the railroad stimulated the development of local industry in Hsulin, Panchiao, and other
178 neighboring market towns. In the 1920's and 1930's Japanese develop-
433 ment companies opened large scale coal mines in the foothills to the
[316] west and east of Hsulin; in the early 1920's a winery was built in
[274] Hsulin which by 1930 had grown to be the largest winery on the island;
[256] the winery stimulated development of several smaller industries

As we have already seen, the years between 1930 and 1960 were years of change in Hsiachichou. The completion of the rerouted Taipei-Hsinchu railroad and construction of factories in the nearby market town created new wage earning opportunities, and the rapidly expanding population of Hsiachichou put pressure on the village to take advantage of these opportunities. Agriculture became a less important element in the economy of the community, and as agriculture declined in importance so did the traditional authority of the senior generations. A young man formerly dependent upon his parent's land for a livelihood now had the option of seeking an independent income as a wage worker. Backed by the potential of economic independence, the younger generations began to challenge their parents' perogatives with regard to marriage and adoption. The traditional system of arranged marriages gave way in the 1920's to a system in which the younger members of the family were granted a nominal voice in marriage negotiations, and by the late 1930's the unmarried and recently married members of the k2 had secured control of their fates and those of their children. Although arranged marriages were still common in Hsiachichou even in the post-war period, they were arranged only with the consent of the young people. In 1960 we found that most of the parents in the village felt that they were no longer able to exert any real control over decisions concerning marriage and adoption. As one of our elderly informants complained, "The young people now have to do everything their own way. They don't care at all what their parents want them to do."

3:Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien
Taiwan AD6

The City and the Market Town

In the few arcades streets closed to automobiles in the United States and England, one is conscious of the sound of feet on concrete, but in Taipei, even though the wooden clogs of the poor make much more noise than Western leather, one is conscious of voices. Children cry, women gossip, storekeepers greet friends and customers, peddlers inform passers-by of the quality and freshness of their wares, pedi-cab drivers shout warnings to pedestrians about to step in front of them, neighbors discuss the bargains they've found, and not infrequently family quarrels are presented for the world to judge. Winter or summer, day or night, there is always the smell of smoke—coal smoke, charcoal smoke, fuel oil. Often it is delicately embroidered with a thread of incense coming from a family altar in the back of a store or from a small temple tucked down a side alley. The air is heavy with smells, not just smoke, but the oily smells of cooking, the salty smell of drying fish, the sharp tang of pickled vegetables, the elegant smell of sandalwood being fashioned into boxes and furnishings for the rich, and always somewhere in every neighborhood the smell of the "honey-wagon," a slow moving tank cart that goes from house to house to collect "night-soil."

In 1957 my husband and I arrived in Taipei and spent the better part of a year there, studying Mandarin. The following year, the majority of which I was forced to spend in the United States because of the illnesses of my parents, my husband searched the island for a suitable village in which to carry out the anthropological field project that had brought him to Taiwan. I returned not to the noisy, jostling city but to a small, quiet village on the banks of the Tamsui River. In its way of life, Peihotien was far from Taipei; in miles, the distance was not great. With luck and a feeling of urgency, the trip from the Taipei train station to our doorstep could be made in an hour, half by train and half by foot. The train rumbled through Taipei suburbs, a small city, a couple of small market towns, and much open paddy land before it dropped us in the market town of Tapu. Tapu is the buying, selling, repairing, and general servicing town for a number of villages, including the one in which I was to live.

The Tapu train station opens onto a little square; the square in turn opens onto the main street of the town. I have never seen the square completely empty, not even in the heavy rains that break the heat of summer afternoons. There is a man who sells hot noodles from a little cart, another with fresh fruit, another with newspapers and gaudy magazines.

3: Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Peihotien

death, and marriage. In Tapu, Tu Ti Kung is the patron of the business establishments in his neighborhood. In Peihotien, he watches over the village farmers.

Peihotien is by far the most attractive of the villages of Hotien. The others have become dusty tangles of buildings in a maze of narrow paths. Unwilling to give up the precious paddy land for anything so unprofitable as living space, the growing population has built new wings and even new houses in courtyards and passageways, destroying trees and shrubs that once gave grace to their setting. Few houses enjoy the filtered shade of old trees, and the scraggly bushes scattered among them are so frequently attacked by animals and children that their life expectancy is short. Peihotien's site on the bank of the Tamsui is, by comparison, luxuriant in large healthy trees and a variety of smaller greenery. In the days when the area was settled, long before modern truck farming, the thin, sandy soil appeared useless, fit only for building sites, kitchen gardens, and drying grounds. Peihotien has grown as rapidly as its neighbors, but there is still an unusual amount of space between houses. Several families make use of it by maintaining bamboo groves, adding tender bamboo shoots to their diet and another source of shade and texture to their landscape. Even in the dry days after the rice harvest when hot winds carry the dust from the drained paddies high into the air, Peihotien seems more protected, cooler, cleaner. From a distance the other villages of Hotien can readily be identified for what they are, but Peihotien is a pleasant uncertainty, a clump of dark green foliage with a suggestion of rose brick and a glimpse of the soaring lines of a rich tile roof.

Before 1920, when the railroad was laid through Tapu, Peihotien's location on the Tamsui River had more than aesthetic value. The river, as a major thoroughfare, was important to the economy of the village. Two or three families supplemented their farm income by poling ferries across the river and several village men supported their families by transporting goods between the remote villages and Taipei. Peihotien was an agricultural village, but its farmers depended upon the river to tide them over when crops failed or families became too large. The advent of the railroad with its faster, more comfortable transportation soon ended river travel and the advantage of Peihotien's position beside it. Before long the railroad took the river's place in the village's economy, and then some. It was less than a half hour's walk from Peihotien to the railway station in Tapu and only a few more minutes by train to the factories in other cities.

and land which is relatively flat totals only about fifteen per cent of the island (Cressey, 1964:177). The soils are similar to those of south China, mature, leached, acid, and in need of constant applications of lime and fertilizer (Tregear, 1965:306). Because of the terrain, scarcely more than one third of the land area is arable. The mountains are forested with some minerals, chiefly coal, found in the northern end of the island (Hsieh, 1964:109).

The village of Sanlei lies in the northern third of Taiwan, about four miles south of Taipei, Taiwan's capital and largest city with a 1965 population exceeding one and a quarter million people. To travel to the village, one first takes a highway bus to Hsin Tien, a town of over 10,000 people, 2-1/2 miles south of Taipei (See Figure 1). The township office with hegemony over Sanlei is located in Hsin Tien and the town has traditionally served as the major market and political center for the nearby villages. Because of the mountainous terrain, the extent of the area is irregular but probably does not exceed a radius of two miles at a maximum. In the direction of Taipei, its influence extends less than half the distance between town and city. Hsin Tien is also a famous tourist mecca, located next to Green Lake where boats may be rented. Prior to the construction of a modern four-lane highway in 1959, there was also a train from Taipei to Hsin Tien.

from the other; or if the farmers' association small unit head is from one faction, the vice head is from the other.

Many of the men but only a few women learned some Japanese and several became quite fluent. A Japanese school was established in Pouti near the police station and a small percentage of the villagers, primarily male, were permitted to attend. It appears that although there were increases as time passed, total attendance never exceeded fifty per cent of those in the requisite age groups. Secretly and illegally, a Chinese school was operated in the village but seldom did more than 15 students attend regularly.

Economically, there were many improvements. The narrow path to Hsin Tien soon became a one lane dirt road. Coal mines were started in the immediate area and a very narrow gauge railroad was built from the mines into Hsin Tien just before World War I. Both road and railroad improved communication with Hsin Tien. Tea plantations, common in Northern Taiwan, were introduced to Talei about the time the railroad was built. Citrus orchards started to replace tea during World War II. Improved seed varieties, fertilizer, insecticide, and farming techniques increased agricultural income a great deal. The Japanese introduced farming cooperatives in the nineteen twenties which increased the flow of information to the village.